

FBI REVIEW COMPLETED 8/19/2003

11 OCT 1956

VIA LIAISON

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

On behalf of Mr. Dulles, who is out of the country, I wish to thank you for your letter of 4 October and the interesting enclosure concerning the recent trip to Moscow of the Canadian Communist Party delegation.

You may be sure that we will give this document appropriate Top Secret handling in accordance with your desires.

Sincerely,

C. P. Cabell
Lieutenant General, USAF
Acting Director

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

October 4, 1956

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL
VIA LIAISON

Mr. Allen W. Dulles
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Administration Building, Room 123
2430 E Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Dulles:

I thought you would be interested in the information contained in the enclosed memorandum. It will be noted that this memorandum sets forth information received from confidential sources concerning a recent trip to Moscow of a delegation of the Canadian Communist Party and the results of a meeting of this delegation with Nikita Khrushchev and other Soviet officials.

In view of the delicate position of these sources, it is requested that this memorandum be treated as "Top Secret."

The enclosure has been disseminated to appropriate agencies of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

October 4, 1956

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Confidential sources, who have furnished reliable information in the past, reported the following information which is believed to be of considerable interest.

An official Canadian Communist Party Delegation went to Moscow at the invitation of the Soviets on August 18, 1956, and held lengthy conferences with Nikita Khrushchev, Mikhail Suslov (head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) and the latter's assistant, V. Ponomarev. Included in the Canadian Delegation were Tim Buck, leader of the Canadian Communist Party, and a number of members of the National Committee of the Canadian Communist Party. The Canadian Delegation felt that their trip was arranged by the Soviets so that they saw only what the Soviets desired them to see; further the Canadian Delegation was not satisfied with the answers to questions they proposed to the Russian leaders.

The Canadians asked why inner Party democracy was violated in the Soviet Union, why there was no concrete explanation of how Party democracy became subordinated to Stalin and why present members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who were also members during Stalin's life, did not criticize Stalin and his policies at that time. The Canadians asked how relations could be improved between the various Communist Parties, what were the prospects for the Jews in Russia and whether Jewish children could learn the Jewish language and culture. The Canadians suggested that an institute for international affairs be established in Moscow to which various Communist Parties could send highly developed comrades for further training. The Canadians also suggested the establishment of a journal to take the place of the Cominform paper "For A Lasting Peace, For A Peoples Democracy" and to give expression

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to communist ideology. The Canadians asked for additional information concerning the peaceful transition to socialism; information concerning the cult of the individual; and for an explanation of democratic centralism and its relationship to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Suslov answered most of the above questions in some manner. He told the Canadians to learn to apply democratic centralism concretely and warned them not to reject the concept of democratic centralism. He stated that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not reject the philosophical concept of Marx as regards the dictatorship of the proletariat and that when the proletariat can exercise power, this is the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to Suslov, the form of government is not important. Dictatorship of the proletariat is a regime that abolishes capitalists as a class and, once this idea is agreed upon, there is room for unlimited discussion concerning the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. With regard to the question of peaceful or parliamentary transition to socialism, Suslov stated that the statements of Khrushchev and other Russian leaders at the 20th Congress can be regarded only in a general sense and that the Russian leaders could not specify the countries to which this statement applied but wanted to emphasize that new conditions make a transition to socialism a political possibility.

Suslov was questioned as to why other Communist Parties had not been allowed to hear Khrushchev's secret speech (at the 20th Congress) and Suslov answered that Khrushchev was speaking on behalf of the entire presiding committee when he made this speech. He stated that the leaders thought the speech would not go beyond the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and that when it should finally leak out, it would appear to reflect only an internal problem of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Suslov revealed that when Beirut, the late Polish leader, died, he had seventeen copies of Khrushchev's speech in his possession but only sixteen were found after his death. Suslov stated that this might account for the fact that the speech was obtained by the capitalist press. With regard to the theory of the cult of the individual, Suslov stated that perhaps some silly things had been done in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union but since all

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enemies of the Party, both internal and external, had directed their fire against Stalin, every loyal communist had to choose between loyalty and disloyalty to Stalin, that is, communists in Russia regarded loyalty to the Party as synonymous with loyalty to Stalin. Suslov spent considerable time in discussing the Jewish situation in Russia and the Canadian Delegation was not satisfied with his answers. Suslov also spent some time in discussing the fraternal relations between the various Communist Parties. He said that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union desired the warmest relations with other Communist Parties as equals but did not wish to interfere in their internal affairs. He said the possibility of establishing an international institute in Moscow as well as a publication or journal to which all Communist Parties could contribute their ideas would be considered.

The Canadian Delegation learned from various sources that the Crimea became almost depopulated after World War II, the Tartars having been dispersed. Molotov and Kaganovich, Soviet officials, had asked three outstanding Jewish leaders to induce the Jews in Russia to settle in the Crimea. These Jewish leaders were later executed in connection with an alleged Jewish plot to establish an autonomous republic in the Crimea which would be an outpost of the United States. To this day, Molotov and Kaganovich have not admitted that they originated the plan for the Jews to settle in the Crimea. The Canadian Delegation also learned that the families of the executed Jewish leaders had been subjected to barbaric atrocities.

The meeting of the Canadian Delegation with Khrushchev lasted four hours. The latter was considered very crude and undiplomatic and the Canadians are convinced that Khrushchev is a drunkard. Khrushchev stated that Russia had given the Jews an opportunity to build a state in Birobjan where there are many natural resources and the Jews refused to settle there. He stated that the Russians are not prepared to give the Jews things others do not get; that some Jews do not represent progressive interests; that many people brought to the cities from farms have latent anti-Semitic tendencies. Khrushchev stated that he wanted Israel to be considered as the rallying ground for American imperialism.

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Our sources also reported that Sam Lipshitz, a member of the National Committee of the Canadian Communist Party who was in Moscow at the same time as his Canadian comrades but was not a member of the Communist Party Delegation, had been in Poland prior to his visit to Moscow. Lipshitz found that the situation in Poland was horrible. He said that from 1937 to the end of World War II the Russians imprisoned, exiled or killed more than 30,000 Polish comrades. As a result, when the communists came into power in Poland there were very few qualified leaders to assume important positions in the government, in the Party and in industry. Many Jewish comrades were placed in leading positions in the political and economic branches of the Polish Government. Today, there is a terrible economic and political situation in Poland which is due to many factors. For example, in about 1950, the Russians forced the Poles to concentrate on the production of armaments. Two million peasants were transferred from farms to industrial plants in the cities. These people now refuse to return to the farms and there are now 600,000 of them who cannot find employment. In the past, Poland was self-sufficient agriculturally but today it cannot produce enough food for its own people. Another example of the Polish situation is as follows: Poland traditionally is an exporter of great quantities of coal from the sale of which was acquired sufficient foreign exchange to pay for imports. The Russians took most of the coal from Poland and gave very little in return. As a result, Poland does not have foreign currency with which to buy the necessary food and raw materials to keep its plants in production. The first five-year plan for Poland was only 40% completed. The pro-Russians within the Polish Communist Party are shifting the blame for these conditions upon the Jewish leaders and there is an undercurrent of anti-Semitism appearing in Poland. Poland is regarded as a classic example of how the Russians treat the satellite nations. Recently, Khrushchev prevented one Zambrowski (phonetic), a Jew, from being elected to the Secretariat of the Polish Communist Party. Today, there are 70,000 Jews in Poland and of them, 15,000 are willing to leave tomorrow for Israel. Some Jews in Poland have remarked that whereas Germany formerly was their enemy, today Russia is their enemy.

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According to Lipshitz, 3,000 Party members participated in the Poznan riots. He stated the Poles actually needed the food offered to them by President Eisenhower at the time of the Polish riots but the Russians would not allow them to accept it. Gomulka, former Executive Secretary of the Polish Communist Party, was arrested and sentenced to four and one-half years in jail on the charge of being an enemy of the state in that he had supported Marshal Tito. He was not given a trial and was expelled from the Party. He has now been released and is one of the most popular persons in Poland. The Party leadership in Poland, the majority of whom is pro-Polish as opposed to pro-Russian, is hesitant to bring Gomulka back into leadership, despite his popularity. The majority in leadership, including General Secretary Ochab, Premier Cyrankiewicz and Oscar Lange, is in favor of closer ties with other nations in addition to Russia, more democracy, and economic development along traditional lines such as the production of coal, agricultural products and textiles. This majority fears that the Russians will make promises to Gomulka and place him in leadership. Gomulka is an extreme opportunist and may desire to assume leadership with the assistance of the pro-Russian faction. The majority of the Poles would probably follow Gomulka since he is popular and they do not know of his pro-Russian leanings or that he would be indebted to the Russians for putting him in leadership.

With regard to the Polish situation, one of our sources feels that the whole question of the relationship of the satellite countries to the Soviet Union is coming to the front; further it is an important question of international significance which is related to the current talks between the leadership of the Soviet Union and of Yugoslavia. This source also had the following comments. The Russians are doing everything possible to keep in subjection the satellite countries and prevent them from having contacts with the outside world, particularly with the United States. The Russians are concerned lest Titoism spread to the satellite countries. Even if the conferences between the USSR

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and Yugoslav leaders result in a communique emphasizing understanding between them, the very fact that they had to meet shortly after Tito's visit to Moscow reflects that relations between them are strained. In Poland there is a democratic upsurge but the people are, to a large extent, economically dependent upon the Soviets. It is known that the majority of the present Polish leadership would like to establish ties with other countries.

According to our sources, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union apparently does not know the current situation existing in the Communist Party, USA, and the divergent views of William Foster and Eugene Dennis, Communist Party, USA, leaders, concerning present Party policy. Our sources state that the Russians would like to have one of the American Communist Party leaders come to Moscow and if this is not possible, the Russians would like to improve the communications system between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party, USA, which is not good at the present time.

All of the above information is being classified "Top Secret" and should be treated accordingly because of the delicate position of our sources. It is requested that no dissemination be made of this information without prior consultation with this Bureau.

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